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PEACE NEWS

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Have we lost our independence?

MPs DISCUSS U.S. INFLUENCE ON FOREIGN POLICY

By MARY WILLIS

"WE have far less independence than we should have if we were the 49th state of the United States of America, because in that case we should be able to take part in the forthcoming elections in the United States, and have some voice in the policy which is dictated to us."

This opinion was expressed by Mr. Sidney Silverman, MP (Lab., Erdington) at a debate at the Progressive Business Men's Forum in London last week on the subject "Is our national independence being sacrificed to the United States?"

The presence of the American atom bomb bases on our soil, he said, meant automatically, by international law, that in the event of hostilities breaking out in any part of the world between the United States and the Soviet Union, without our being asked or consulted at all, the Soviet Union would be entitled to treat our country as part of hostile territory, because it harboured hostile forces.

Korea as an example

On Korea, Mr. Silverman said:

"We have fought since September, 1950, against our conviction of what the truth is and what the situation requires. Every shot fired since that date has been because of the American refusal to recognise the Chinese Government, and give it the rights which it would in that case have under the Charter of the United Nations. Negotiations in September, 1950, broke down on this point, on which we thought the Chinese were right.

(Continued on back page)

At two University debates

STUDENTS SAY "NO" TO WAR

Dr. Donald Soper ***Stuart Morris***

v. ***v.***

Lt-Gen. Giffard Martel ***Lord Strabolgi***

Militarists were "weak and silly"

OVERWHELMING majorities were obtained by two leading British pacifists at University Union debates in Cambridge and London last week.

Students of London University Union on Feb. 1 supported Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, by carrying the motion "that this House will not fight in any war," by 64 votes to 36.

In Cambridge, Dr. Donald Soper won overwhelming support from a crowded house by defeating the motion "Si vis pacem, para bellum" (if you want peace, prepare for war) by 339 votes to 109.

Stuart Morris was opposed by Lord Strabolgi (formerly Lt-Cmdr. Kenworthy), Labour peer and member of the Admiralty War Staff in 1917.

Lieut-Gen. Sir Giffard Martel who opposed Dr. Soper, was head of the Military Mission at Moscow in 1943 and achieved recent notoriety for his attack on Canon John Collins of St. Paul's, following the refusal of special facilities in the Cathedral for the anti-Communist crusade of which Lieut-Gen. Giffard Martel is a leading member.

An outstanding feature of the London debate was the widespread publicity given in the national Press. Every London newspaper, with the exception of the Daily Mirror, carried a report.

Attendance was less than was expected at the London Union. Peace News understands that a "three-line whip" had gone out to members of the military training corps attached to the university urging them to attend.

Press tribute to Stuart Morris

Stuart Morris's "oratory and sincerity were amply equal to the occasion," the Manchester Guardian reported.

Although the days when Britain was a powerful force had gone, said Stuart Morris, we could show a moral leadership, and could disarm.

"We should renounce war, not because we think there is nothing worth defending, but because we know that you cannot defend the things we want to defend by war."

He asked whether the Second World War had proved more effective in obtaining the results for which it had been fought than the First World War.

In spite of victory we were told that freedom and democracy were in more peril than ever. It was fear we had to face. If we could not get disarmament by agreement, let us have disarmament by example.

Lord Strabolgi, opposing the motion, declared that the only way to prevent war was a strong, well-armed, international body like the United Nations.

Dr. Soper was "persuasive"

Reporting the debate at Cambridge on Jan. 29, Varsity, the University newspaper, attributed the defeat of the motion to "the well-known persuasive powers" of Dr. Soper, and the weakness of his opponents, including Mr. G. L. Pears, Christ's College, whose arguments Varsity described as "silly."

Lieut-Gen. Martel, speaking for the motion expressed the view that one of the main tasks of the Russian army was to keep down the revolution which was constantly occurring in Russia and the Ukraine and places like that. He also said "If we want to get a form of government in Russia with which the rest of the world can work . . . we've got to find some means of causing them a loss of prestige."

Mr. G. L. Pears, said it was no good being peace-loving unless you had the power to maintain it.

A constructive alternative

Dr. Soper, opposing the motion, said "Historically there is not a tittle of evidence to show that nations which have prepared for war have gained peace." Force of arms had always settled only who had possession of, not who owned, the property.

Instead of stockpiling, he went on, America could prevent war by raising the standard of living of the oppressed and destitute peoples of the world. Over half the population of the world did not have a square meal from the day they were born until the day they died.

The alternative to rearmament was total disarmament. "Is this more dangerous than the blotting out of civilisation?" he asked.

Mr. A. J. L. Lloyd, of Trinity College, who also spoke against the motion, pointed out the absurdity of everyone wanting to be stronger than everyone else.

"We have forces in Egypt," he said, "but have we prevented war? Is there peace in Egypt at this moment?"

RACIAL UNITY

"Enemies or partners"?

— James Griffiths, MP

Peace News Reporter

PEOPLE of many races filled the Central Hall, London, on Monday evening for the inaugural meeting of "Racial Unity," a movement initiated by Miss Mary Attlee to seek to remove the causes of bitterness between races and implement Article 1 of the UN Declaration of Human Rights.

The Article reads:

"All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood."

Mr. James Griffiths, MP, a former Colonial Secretary, said, "I feel I must begin by saying that the facts of the world in which we live are a grim and challenging contrast to the faith we affirm, for the truth is that all men are not born equal, nor have they equal rights and dignity in the world in which we live.

"Two-thirds of the human race are born in poverty and live in poverty all their life, and I think that perhaps the outstanding problem of our day and generation is the contrast between the two-thirds of the world, mainly peopled by the coloured peoples, and the one-third, mainly peopled by whites.

The peoples in the backward countries, he said, were becoming increasingly aware of the contrast, and were determined to raise their standards.

"We shall have to decide whether this struggle shall be one in which we join as partners or a struggle in which they will come to regard us as enemies."

Miss Attlee's stand for natives

Miss Mary Attlee, whose speech was read for her by Miss Margery Fry, told how when she went to South Africa as a missionary in 1910 she was shocked at the racial discrimination.

"I decided in 1927 to throw in my lot and identify myself with the Bantus and the coloured people, and share all I had with them."

When she returned to this country in 1950, after working for 35 year among the coloured peoples of South Africa, she found how few people realised the facts.

"The UK Council of Racial Unity will be concerned with this country," she said, "but I pray that other countries will set up their own councils on their own lines."

Canon L. John Collins, appealing for funds for the Council, said they hoped to raise £30,000 a year for publicity work, in order to educate the people of the United Kingdom to a real sense of the urgency of the problem, and to issue a monthly news sheet for the information of editors.

Messages of support were received from the leaders of the three political parties, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, and the Moderator of the Free Church Council.

The address of Racial Unity is 32 Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.1.

THE ALTERNATIVE TO REARMAMENT

War will not preserve anything worth keeping

— New Quaker peace pamphlet

THE Society of Friends, whose mission to Moscow was one of the most encouraging events of last year, has made another imaginative gesture in the cause of peace by producing a striking folder, part of which we reproduce below.

Designed by Dennis James, and printed in black and deep rose, the folder illustrates how this country might spend for constructive purposes the £4,700 million which have been earmarked for war preparations during the next three years.

In Britain we could have the flats, universities, schools, hospitals and agricultural research centres shown in the sketches, and in the Colonies:

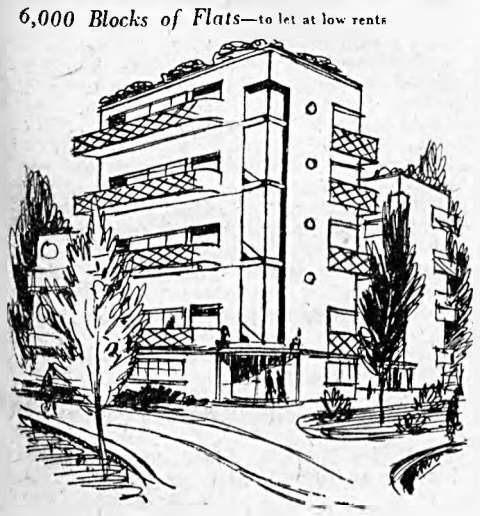
5	Development projects on the lines of the Tennessee Valley Authority	costing £1,000 million
400	Medical Centres	costing £300 „
8,000	New Schools	costing £1,000 „
3	Universities	costing £60 „
	Agricultural Research Centres	costing £50 „
260	Libraries	costing £130 „

"War will not preserve or protect anything worth keeping," says the folder, and goes on to speak briefly about the way of peace, which the Society of Friends has tried to follow for 300 years, ending with these words:

"Urge the Government to lead the world with policies of negotiation, disarmament and world reconstruction."

Copies of the folder, which is printed on stiff paper, can be obtained from the Friends' Peace Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1, at 6d. each; 4s. 6d. doz. or 25s. 100.

6,000 Blocks of Flats—to let at low rents



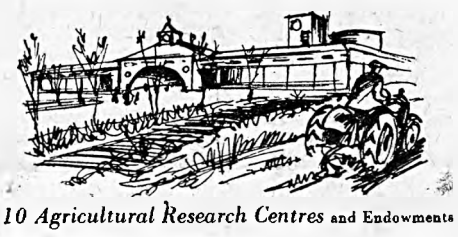
Costing £1,500,000,000

20 Great Universities at £10 million each in our largest cities, 20 Endowments for the above at £10 million each.

Costing £400,000,000

400 New Schools in smaller towns at £125,000 each

Costing £50,000,000



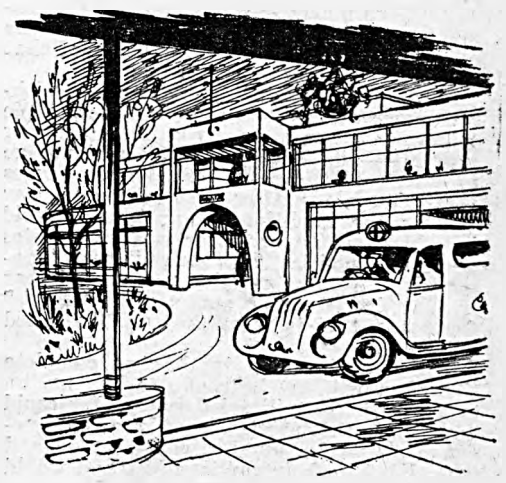
10 Agricultural Research Centres and Endowments at £6 million each to increase food production

Costing £60,000,000

200 New Schools in large cities at £250,000 each

Costing £50,000,000

200 Hospitals at £500,000 each



Costing £100,000,000

PEACE NEWS

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February 8, 1952

OURSELVES AND COMMUNISM

EVERY newspaper receives a constant flow of critical letters objecting to some of its contents or to certain aspects of its policy. Peace News is no exception.

It is true that we receive many letters of generous appreciation, but almost every day also somebody writes to us to convey disapproval. The criticisms we receive are from many different, and sometimes contradictory, points of view. Among these latter are those condemning us for being too Communistically inclined while there are others which are equally condemnatory because we are regarded as being unfair to Russia, the Communists and the World Peace Council. Sometimes two contradictory letters on this issue arriving by the same post can be contemplated together on the Editorial desk. There is one reader —a very good worker for Peace News—who is grieved because she is convinced that there are Communists among the Editorial staff. There are others, both pacifists and non-pacifists, who chide us for being afraid to incur the stigma of Communism.

Peace News exists to serve the pacifist movement, to convey news necessary to pacifists, and to express the pacifist point of view. In this article we shall try to do something to clear the air on this matter by setting out the pacifist position on this issue as we see it.

★

The attitude of Peace News to Russia, the Communists and the World Peace Council is goverend by the following assumptions:

1. We do not believe the Russian people, or the Russian Government, desire a world war.

2. We believe that Russia's armed militarism (genuinely defensive as the Russians hold it to be) contributes to a world situation that is likely to lead to war, just as does the armed militarism of the Western Powers (genuinely defensive as the Western peoples hold this to be).

3. We hold that there is much that is to be deplored in Russian political and social conditions; just as we know that there is much to be deplored in the political and social conditions of the Western peoples.

4. We do not believe that it is a duty that we owe to peace to keep silent about the evils we believe to exist in Russia, any more than the Russians (or we ourselves) believe that it is a duty to peace to keep silent about the evils that exist in the West.

5. We believe that if there were as much freedom of movement for Western Europeans in Russia as there is for Western Europeans in Western European countries (Englishmen in France and Holland, Frenchmen in England and Holland, and Dutchman in France and England for instance), and if Russians were as free to leave Russia as the nationals of these countries are free to leave their countries it is conceivable that our views on some of the evils we believe to exist in Russia might be modified.

6. However much we may believe it to be a human duty to speak out about the evils we believe to exist in Russia, and that it would consequently be wrong to be silent about them, we believe it to be even more wrong (as well as futile) to seek to remedy these evils by war; and we hope that Russians take the same view with regard to evils that exist in the West.

These assumptions having been set out there are certain fundamentals that provide their background upon which it may be of use to comment.

Whether freedom of movement for men and women between Russia and the West were to demonstrate that the evils that are believed to exist in Russia were non-existent, less than they are represented to be or much worse than we had conceived, pacifists have already made it clear that they would refuse to engage in any war arising out of them.

Similarly, they have made it known that they will not engage in a war because their Government declares that it is defensive. They are, that is to say, "partisans of peace" in the really valid sense of that term. They are committed to peace.

Their partisanship is complete and without reservation. They do not say, "We believe in peace and we will not go to war *unless* ——" They say, "We will not go to war." They know from the disclosures that come along after each successive war that in the conditions of an armed world in which all governments pursue policies of power politics "defensive" and "aggressive" become relative terms, and that if they declare their readiness to "fight" for peace, that is what they will be called upon to do.

Their partisanship is thus so complete that they will not be ready to line up, on terms, with the militarist enemy. We could wish that the partisans of peace everywhere would be equally wholehearted and unqualified in their partisanship, and would thus make possible a united world movement for peace.

Hope for Egypt—

AN unusual feature of the Egyptian crisis has been some pronouncements in the orthodox Press which might have been dictated by the staff of Peace News.

Last week we quoted some critical comments by The Times on British military policy. On Sunday The Observer published an excellent survey, "Last Chance in Egypt," by Robert Stevens, which questioned the value of "standing firm" as a contribution to our national prestige:

> "We have been shooting the very people we are supposed to be defending and forcing to the point of internal breakdown a country whose stability we are supposedly trying to preserve."

Hopes for an agreed settlement of Anglo-Egyptian differences rose during the weekend, which saw a notable reduction of tension. There seems now to be little doubt that the settlement will aim at a compromise over the problem of the Sudan.

In the Canal Zone there are signs of a break in the dock workers' strike at Port Said, where the British Navy has recently been responsible for maintaining the flow of traffic. As always, the civilian citizens of the area have borne the brunt of economic hardship. The merchants in Port Said are estimated to have lost some £20,000 a month since passengers from liners in transit were unable to land.

and for Kashmir

APART from The Times, the British Press has virtually ignored the remarkable outcome of the Kashmir discussion by the Security Council, which on Jan. 31 accepted the British proposal that Dr. Frank Graham, the UN mediator, should return to the sub-continent in a further attempt to bring India and Pakistan to agreement on measures for demilitarisation.

Dr. Graham is to report back to the Council by the end of March if possible.

Exceptionally hopeful was the conciliatory tone of the views expressed by both countries in Paris.

Agatha Harrison, one of the Quaker observers at the UN Assembly, writes of the discussion:

> "Truly India and Pakistan gave a striking example . . . of quiet statesmanship, and though a most difficult time is ahead the discussion ended in a different spirit that has never characterised the Security Council's handling of this tangled matter during four straining years . . . It was a miracle."

Better relations between these countries, which reached the verge of war two years ago, followed the assassination of Premier Liaquat Ali Khan, a victim, like Gandhi, of nationalist fanaticism.

At the Caxton Hall memorial meeting for Pakistan's Prime Minister, the High Commissioner for India in a moving speech pleaded for conciliation and peace as an aftermath of the tragedy.

If the new attitude leads to a settlement, Liaquat Ali Khan will not have died in vain.

Harmony or Unison?

ALTHOUGH this note has to be written before the full debate on Foreign Affairs in the House of Commons this week, some comment on Mr. Churchill's preliminary statement is worthwhile, particularly in relation to his speech in the American Congress.

The difference between the two statements arises out of the difference between his two tasks.

In the one he was trying to placate an assembly uneasy about any possible difference between British and American policy in the Far East. In the other he was trying to reassure an assembly anxious lest Britain had been committed to a new policy in the Far East.

Another difference lies in the fact that American eyes are turned mostly to the Far East, and their anxiety is lest European commitments should weaken their efforts there.

Winston Churchill, who admitted that his "thoughts were seldom far away from Europe," is anxious lest commitments in the Far East should weaken British action elsewhere.

No reassurance

What emerges is that the so-called "hypothetical question" of the consequences of a failure to arrive at a truce in Korea or of its subsequent rupture had been discussed before his American visit, and that "no change was made in the situation while he was in the USA."

This is less reassuring than the words are meant to be. The very fact that "the matter did not figure to any large extent in the discussions" seems to imply that the American Government is satisfied that the British Government not only understands but at least acquiesces in their general point of view, otherwise they would surely have insisted on discussing the matter. That is much more dangerous than any formal commitment.

Keeping us guessing

The excuse that no details were given because "it was good to keep the other side guessing" presumes that there was some agreement (about which we also are kept guessing) based upon the necessity of "defending the cause of world freedom against Communist aggression."

Is this melody which they sing in harmony to become the theme of a war song they will sing in unison?

Mr. Churchill tried to allay the fears of the House of Commons by reminding them of General Bradley's phrase about "the wrong war in the wrong place at the wrong time." But does General Bradley still believe that this would be true of a war with China? The ghost of MacArthur haunts the Pentagon, and there is increasing uneasiness lest America has now decided that a war with China has become inevitable.

Mr. Churchill's reference to the fact that nine-tenths of the cost of the war in Korea is being borne by America implies that, therefore, theirs must be the decision about the future.

BEHIND THE NEWS

What is our Far Eastern policy?

IT must not be forgotten that the war in Korea has given a general stimulus to rearmament. If that is removed, will America need another?

The situation involves all the temptation to stage a breakdown or prompt a diversion elsewhere. In any case, for Churchill to discuss war with China, even as a contingency, implies a major change in British foreign policy (though there may at this stage be no formal commitments). Should America, having been led to believe that we will acquiesce, carry the war into China, Mr. Churchill would either have to involve Britain in the war or be regarded by America as having misled them.

If it comes to a choice between risking rupture with America or war with China, who can doubt what Mr. Churchill's decision would be?

Events point to the inevitability of a clearer Far Eastern policy. Mr. Churchill has done little to dispel the uneasiness that any change will commit us more and more definitely to American policy.

We can only hope that the debate on foreign affairs will have made it quite plain to him that this country refuses under any circumstances to be involved in action in the Far East which would be tantamount to a declaration of war on China and the prelude to World War III.

The Japanese and Chiang Kai-shek

ACCORDING to an account given by the Alsop brothers in the New York Herald Tribune the background of the decision of the Japanese Prime Minister to recognise the Chiang Kai-shek Government in Formosa is quite different from what has been understood in Great Britain.

It has been assumed here that when the negotiations regarding the Japanese Peace Treaty were in progress undertakings were given to the then Foreign Minister, Mr. Herbert Morrison, that the Japanese would be left free, without American pressure, to make their own decision on this matter. This, however, does not represent the facts.

According to Joseph and Stewart Alsop the Japanese Government had already reached its decision on this matter before Mr. Dulles came to Britain in connection with the Japanese treaty negotiations. This fact was very well known to the British Foreign Office, and when Mr. Morrison persuaded the Cabinet to accept the Japanese pact on the understanding that the Japanese were to be left free to choose in this matter he did not disclose that in fact the choice had already been made.

If this is a true account of what happened it makes it all the harder to understand the unprotesting way in which a Labour Foreign Minister acquiesced in the plans for the militarisation of Japan, imposed as a consequence of the signing of the Treaty.

It is obvious that we need more light on this transaction, although it needs to be said that this account is not without its inconsistencies. Although these writers' story implies that there was no need for Mr. Dulles to bring pressure to bear on the Japanese to achieve the result desired by the American Government, they remark that Senators Sparkman and Smith, who accompanied Mr. Dulles, took a strong line with Mr. Yoshida and told him that to get the pact through Congress there would have to be an assurance that the Japanese would recognise the Chiang Kai-shek Government rather than the Chinese Communists.

Welsh protest succeeds

THE Lleyn peninsula has been reprieved after more than 2,000 people attended a rally at Pwllheli, North Wales, on January 20 to launch a protest against the War Office proposal to acquire 11,000 acres of land in the peninsula for military training (see PN January 4).

A Times report says that Mr. Goronwy Roberts, Labour MP for Caernarvon, who addressed the meeting, emphasised the all-party nature of the protest. If the War Office had its way, he said, the area, which contained some of the richest farming land in the country, would cease to be economically sound for agriculture. "For the military authorities these proposals are a matter of convenience," he said. "To us they are a matter of national extinction or survival.

Sir David Maxwell Fyfe reported to the House of Commons on Monday that he had discussed the matter with the Secretary for War and the proposal had now been abandoned for 1952. He went on to remark however, that "in future the need for an area of the nature of the Lleyn peninsular as a training ground was likely to recur."

Our Welsh friends therefore will have to remain on the alert.

Sidelight on the free world

"Every Buenos Aires dustbin contains loaves of bread and pounds of meat."
—*President Peron*

"You have hunger. We have meat."
—*President Peron*

THE CUP—OR THE ATOM BOMB?

JUST at the moment when Newcastle have knocked Spurs out of the Cup, and excitement in the national contest is intense, comes news of a serious rival possibility.

The British, according to the Sunday Times, are now ready to make the first atom bomb test.

This might have taken place in America, where everything is ready for testing atom bombs and measuring their effect (on non-human instruments). But apparently there are some legal objections to our bombs being tested on their ground. Anyhow, we have to cut down exports and we ought to play at home if we can.

The Americans would no doubt like to know something of our progress in the atom-bomb world, but in the interests of security there are strong arguments against this; we may have to use the weapon against them to preserve our institutions against the American way of life; and our possible allies in such a struggle would certainly not like us to give our secret information to USA. After all, this is a defensive weapon and we never know against whom we may have to be defended.

*

The fact that the atom-bomb is purely defensive makes it, in fact, essential for the tests to be on our own ground, for defensive weapons can only be used at home. Those now blandly saying that they are ready for a test, however, have not considered other important interests. When can such a test take place, and where? We cannot have a spectacular affair like this clashing with the Cup Final, the Boat Race, the Derby or the Test Matches, and so we find ourselves into September and then there is the St. Leger and we are back in the football season.

Despite these vested interests however, the Government should go ahead, for a show like this, properly staged, might bring in a lot of gate money, and now that it is simply not worth going abroad my dear to spend a mere £25, people might welcome a special event like this, if only we could find somewhere to stage it. But where?

*

We need a large open space. The Welsh marches would do but the Welsh have opinions and object to military interference with their way of life says Sir Maxwell Fyfe. The Scottish Highlands could take it, but then there would be no Cairngorms left for people to get lost in, and no grouse for people to shoot.

Attols are best, but our own outer islands are just having a million spent on them to recover from the recent minor hurricane and in any case there is no point in subjecting them to an atomic explosion when all the hens are already dead. Nor can we try it on in the sea; there are far too many depressions south of Iceland without our making new ones on purpose.

We come back to London, where the crowds are ready made. The South Bank site needs clearing, but we need Waterloo station so that is out.

Obviously, St. James' Park is the place. It is surrounded by Royal Palaces, Guards Barracks and Government Offices; the heads of the state and government, war office and admiralty could all have a good view and we could line up those ten thousand surplus civil servants to observe the test, through coloured glass and behind their "adequate protection" of pieces of cardboard. The only trouble about St. James' Park is that we have just got two new pelicans and we cannot go on asking people for pelicans time after time . . .

"FRANKIE"

Facts and Figures

REARMAMENT LEADS TO A WAR ECONOMY

NEGOTIATION from strength—a deceptive phrase like "arms burden as a price of peace"—is no longer the main objective of rearmament. Logically, the sacrifice of economic strength for the sake of a dubious military strength can only be justified if militarists assume an imminent danger of war.

The line between economic mobilisation for "defence" and an actual war economy has already disappeared in the United States, where one-fifth of the national production is geared to war preparations. In Britain productive capacity is strictly limited by shortages of raw materials, equipment and man-power; any increase in arms production makes inevitable cuts in consumption, exports and in new development of productive resources.

What, then, is the degree of "sacrifice" for the arms drive?

On Dec. 6, 1951, Mr. Churchill acknowledged that Mr. Bevan "was right" in criticising the "arms burden." But Government spokesmen and bankers are usually silent on this issue.

LIVING BEYOND THEIR MEANS?

The chairman of Lloyds Bank, Lord Balfour, did not refer to rearmament in his broadcast on Jan. 25, when he stated:

"We are at the edge of disaster. . . . In the past six months we have lost more than a third of our gold and dollar reserves. Another nine months at that rate and the last gold bar would be gone. . . .

"We need a great productive effort, hard work and economy. . . . As a nation we have been living beyond our means. . . .

"If our sterling area customers find that the banker cannot meet their cheques they will close the account."

The last sentence refers to the "dollar pool," that is, the central gold reserves of all "Sterling Area" countries, kept in London.

The suggestion regarding "living beyond our means" presumably applies to the "lower classes" who would be the main victims of Mr. Butler's "cuts." Complaints of shopkeepers about a "buyers strike" (that is: insufficient money to spend) contradict the above suggestion. The truth is that consumption levels must be cut owing to the arms race and that expenditure on arms is going on "beyond our means."

TO PRODUCE ARMS—OR . . . ?

"Increase of production" is the other recommendation to overcome the crisis. But the armaments industry, producing military equipment and munitions as well as services for the armed forces, contributes neither to productivity nor to real national income. On the contrary, productive resources and manpower are diverted from civilian use to military use.

If the arms race devours 15 per cent. of Britain's output, the ratio of goods and services for consumption, exports and capital development must obviously decline. The logical conclusion is: "produce more and consume less, because arms come first."

The expansion of arms production is the essential cause of all the economic difficulties and cuts in 1952, whereas talks about "fighting inflation" and "uncontrollable external influences upsetting the Balance of Payments" merely serve as a smoke-screen.

The shift of 500,000 workers to arms industries and cuts in the allocation of metals for civilian uses lead to a **decline** in non-military production, so that less goods will be available in shops. As reported by the Statistical Office (see Financial Times, Feb. 1) Britain's industrial production increased, on the average, by 7 per cent. in each year 1948-50, but declined to 3 per cent. in 1951 and may fall further.

The truth is that real output is already below the 1950 level, because arms production takes a larger share in the above figures.

Economic development in the Asian Dominions and in Colonies will also be hampered by the arms race.

Firms supplying tractors, agricultural equipment and machines for new industries cannot meet the demand.

The import of one million tons of steel—requested by Mr. Churchill in Washington for rearmament—will cost more (including freight) than Britain's contribution to the Colombo Plan in 1952. India, Pakistan and Ceylon, comprising 440 million people, will only receive about £45 million in the form of released "blocked sterling" balances (i.e., 2s. 1d. per head in 1952).

GENERAL IMPOVERISHMENT

The non-confidence motion of the Labour Party against the present Government evades the real issue: the arms burden.

The reason is that Mr. Gaitskell, the driving force behind rearmament last year, still upholds his policy, although "Mr. Bevan was right" according to Mr. Churchill.

In suggesting a rise of arms expenditure by £690 million on April 10, 1951, Mr. Gaitskell wrongly assumed that the burden (total £1,490 million) was not heavy. The former Chancellor, speaking on July 8, asserted that the U.S. would spend 20 per cent. of the national income on arms, while Britain was lagging behind, spending 13 per cent. At the dinner of the City bankers, on Sept. 25, Mr. Gaitskell gave the assurance:

> "Let no one say that we are not doing our share. According to the E.C.E., Geneva, we shall have 82 men out of every 1,000 of population on defence, and the U.S. 74."

The Labour Party's publication, "Our first duty—Peace" (Daily Herald, Aug. 28) accepted Gaitskellism by stating: "The burden of rearmament . . . can be carried by our economy without too great a strain."

In 1952 the £4,700 million arms programme calls for a £200 million increase; the expenditure reaches £1,690 million. It means an average burden of £34 for every person in the UK, or £2 12s. per week for a family of four.

Adding up the arms burden, trade deficit, stockpiling, military expenditure abroad, etc., the probability of a fall in living standards by 10 per cent. in 1952 does not seem exaggerated. Owing to general impoverishment and decline in spending power, consumption levels will fall back to those of 1946.

PERMANENT CRISIS

Mr. Churchill stated in Parliament, on Nov. 6, that "we are buying much more than we can afford from current earnings, and this can only lead to national bankruptcy."

The Board of Trade Journal, on Jan. 26, published the deficit on trade accounts, reaching £1,208 million, which is 10½ per cent. of Britain's national income (£11,270 million, Cmd. 8195). Rearmament (15 per cent.) and trade deficit (10½

(Continued on page five)

OUR ANSWER TO MR. BUTLER

ONCE more the nation has been forced to face the grim realities of a situation in which priority is given to a vast rearmament programme.

More money for war inevitably means that there is less money available not only for food and essential services, but also to pay the debt we owe to the underdeveloped countries.

If we all have to share in these consequences, I am sure we will not give the Government the satisfaction of knowing that they are slowing down our work for constructive peace-making. Though it means even more sacrifice for us, we shall increase and not reduce our contribution to the Peace Pledge Union. Let every reader answer Mr. Butler by sending a special contribution to the PPU Headquarters Fund this week.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Amount received in 1952: £40.
Aim for 1952: £1,000.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

Behind the Tunisian crisis

"The struggles in Egypt and Tunisia are really part of a single process—the upsurge against foreign domination" writes DOUGLAS ROGERS

WHAT is behind the troubles in Tunisia?

I am often told that I over-simplify political issues, that my opinions are too obvious, that I ignore the complexities. War, imperialism, poverty, social injustice—these must be done away with slowly, I am told; it will take generations to untangle the problems.

My answer is that the problems are made complicated by those who, for selfish reasons, do not wish their final solution. If you really wish to end these evils you can do so.

The simple truth about Tunisia is that the mass of Tunisians want to end French domination of their country. The French, because it is to their economic advantage, want to stay there as long as possible.

The issue is: Should the Tunisians be allowed to run their own country?

It is surprising that the French Government dares to make the excuses it does. It says that Tunisian aspirations for national freedom are premature. When the Nazis were dominating France—and raising as good excuses as the French now raise over Tunisia—did Frenchmen agree that *their* desire for freedom was premature?

Arrests bring out new leaders

The French Government talks about Tunisian "agitators"; it tries to dub them Communists. The idea is to pretend that the Tunisian liberation movement is not spontaneous. The extraordinary thing is that, during the last few weeks, the French have arrested hundreds of these so-called agitators, yet the movement persists.

Neo-Destour, the party of liberation, seems to have an infinite capacity for producing new leaders—to take the place of those imprisoned.

As for the Communists, are we supposed to believe that men such as Faihit Hached, president of the General Workers Union of Tunis, and a executive member of the Confederation of Free Trade Unions, have suddenly sworn allegiance to Moscow?

A great fuss is made about the "riots" and certain acts of violence by Tunisians. They are nothing compared with the violence of the French.

The joke (if it *is* a joke) is that the Neo-Destour leaders have been so moderate that they have been criticised by Egyptian newspapers as "agents of imperialism."

Warning to UNO

I have before me a memorandum prepared in September, 1950, for submission to the United Nations and signed by Habib Bourguiba, president of Neo-Destour. In it he warns that, because of French behaviour,

> "the people are beginning to lose patience and may, at any moment, break out in violent reaction which, by endangering public order, would provide a good pretext for repression on an even wider scale than that which bathed the streets of Tunis in blood on April 9, 1938."

Bourguiba is now reported to have been arrested by the French and deported without trial.

What is surprising is that the Tunisians have shown such restraint. There are nearly four million Tunisians as against 140,000 French and 110,000 other Europeans. Who are the aggressors?

The French are annoyed because the Tunisians have sent their diplomats direct to the United Nations to state their case. The French Government wishes to make it a condition of negotiation that these men be withdrawn. It also says that the release of nationalist leaders under arrest should be a consequence and not a condition of negotiation. Such a suggestion is ludicrous. What people can negotiate with their leaders in prison?

Unfortunately, news from Tunisia has been crowded out of the British Press by the events in Egypt and such snippets as we get are one-sided. Yet the struggles in Egypt and Tunisia are really part of a single process. The upsurge against foreign domination is world-wide.

"Reign of terror"

I have been reading reports received in London by the Congress of Peoples Against Imperalism. They speak of a "reign of terror" being perpetrated by the French and of the palace of the Bey being surrounded by French troops. There is fear that military pressure is being put upon the Bey to force him to betray the liberation movement.

It would not be the first time such tactics have been adopted. The orginal treaty of 1881, which gave France "temporary" occupation of the country, was signed by the Bey of that time when he was beleagued in his palace. After that the French steadily infiltrated their control. Such paper "consent" as Tunisians have given has always been under military pressure.

For some curious reason if an act of aggression such as this is maintained long enough some people come to imagine that the victim becomes an aggressor whenever he objects.

One hears talk of French "rights" in Tunisia, yet the Tunisians have never accepted these "rights." There has always been oppostion and there has always been violent repression by the French: executions, mass shootings, deportations, concentration camps. For the last twenty years the Neo-Destour party has led the opposition. Since 1938 Neo-Destour has been officially banned and the country has been under martial law. Even so the party has gone on growing illegally and the French Government has been compelled, in practice, to recognise its right to speak for the people.

After the war, pressure upon the French Government became so strong and it was finding so much trouble all over its Empire that by 1950 it was compelled to try to negotiate. Yet even when the French Government looked prepared to make useful concessions, the French settlers in Tunisia sabotaged the efforts. As often happens in British colonies, the white settlers resent anything they fear threatens their supremacy.

It now seems that the Government has capitulated to the pressure of the settlers because whilst M. Faure has stated that "the policy of the French Government is that of conducting Tunisia as quickly as possible to internal autonomy," he has simultaneously declared that "there is no question of France leaving Tunisia."

This is not an issue simply between France and Tunisia. Imperialism is an international question and can properly be dealt with by the United Nations. Any pressure we put upon our Government to renounce its own imperialistic sins and to exercise its influence at the United Nations on behalf of oppressed peoples everywhere is work for human freedom and for peace.

(Roy Sherwood writes on Malaya—page six)

NEWS IN BRIEF

The current issue of "One World" (the organ of the National Peace Council) contains a survey of the Suez Canal issue by Hugh J. Schonfield, reviews of a number of recent books and pamphlets on peace and international relations, and a useful résumé of the activities of various local and national peace organisations during recent months. Copies, price 4d., can be obtained from the NPC at 144 Southampton Row, London, W.C.1.

Russia has never relented in regard to the Russian wives of English soldiers. The Russian Government, however, is not alone in carrying nationalism to this point. The Menzies Government in Australia has refused to admit the wives of eight servicemen who married Japanese women.

"Your Lumber can Save a Life" says the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, which is appealing for unwanted articles of all kinds—jewellery, household goods, cameras, scarves—for sale in The Gift Shop at 17 Broad Street, Oxford. Proceeds will be used to send food and clothing where it is most needed—to India, Korea, the Middle East or to refugees in Europe.

The World Club, which meets every Thursday evening at "The Havelock," 20 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1, is open to all who are interested in promoting better understanding among the peoples of all nations. Fixtures for February include a language evening and talks on the peoples and traditons of other countries.

"Pathways to Peace" is the title of a series of lectures to be held in Liverpool from February 25 onwards, under the auspices of Common Wealth. Full particulars can be obtained fro mthe Secretary, Ron Levin, 8 Rudston Road, Liverpool 16.

ACKNOWLEDGED

We gratefully acknowledge receipt of 5s. in threepenny bits from "Yorkshire."

IFoR Chairman for South Africa. Rev. J. Nevin Sayre, Chairman of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, and Mrs. Sayre, are expected to visit South Africa from March 17 to May 15.

A Peace Information Bureau has just been set up at Brighton, at a meeting attended by representatives of 10 local organisations. The Bureau will arrange mutual help for meetings and act as a contact centre for people wishing to get in touch with any branch of the peace movement.

Lord Boyd-Orr is to pay a visit to the United States next month. While there he will receive the National Farmers' Union award for outstanding services to agriculture, which will be presented at the Union's convention in Dallas on March 12.

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Can Britain lead a "Third Force"

A COMMENT ON BEVAN'S OPPORTUNITY

AS we in the USA understand it, it is not the contention of Aneurin Bevan and his group that "armament" and all this implies is to be discarded.

It is, rather, that the pace of Western armament will have to be slackened because Great Britain probably cannot bear the burden involved in the arms programme as it now stands, and certainly not without a cut in the social services and the standard of living which ought to be regarded as inadmissable. Furthermore, the pace of Western armament may safely be slackened in their opinion because U.S. policy is needlessly belligerent and inflexible and there is reason to believe that an understanding, which would result at the very least in a decided easing of international tension, can be reached with Soviet Russia.

To put it another way, it is their opinion that there must be a certain ratio between "defence" appropriations in the British budget, on the one hand, and appropriations for social services, on the other; but not the ratio Mr. Gaitskell and Winston Churchill advocate. Great Britain must continue to operate as a power, though no longer a first rate one, and at the same time the standard of living must not be further reduced.

What being a "military power" means

If a nation in the contemporary world wishes to continue to function as a military power, however, the answer to the question how big its appropriation for military purposes must be is always, to use a phrase which American industrialists employ in another context: "all that the traffic will bear."

We must face the fact that the contest of power and arms proceeds almost mechanically now, or like a natural phenomenon. In this context—as long as men and nations accept it—they have virtually no choice.

I have just been reminded of the passage in Thucydides in which the Athenians razed the little city of Melos, traditional ally of Sparta but so far neutral in the war, put all their men to death, and sold the women and children into slavery.

When the men of Melos protested against the Athenians' ultimatum, the latter said they would not try to prove their ultimatum just. Justice obtains between equals, "but if one is strong and the other weak, that which is possible is imposed by the first and accepted by the second."

THE new economy measures, presented to Parliament by the Chancellor of the Exchequer again bring the point of view described as "Bevanism" to the fore. In the debate, Mr. Harold Wilson, one of the Bevan Group made the following comment:

> "The rearmament programme had intensified the problem. It would not be solved until the Government and some Opposition members stopped clinging to the sacred cow of the £4,700m. rearmament programme. It was excessive, and was accepted as such by people in this country and by some countries in Europe."

In the following article, A. J. Muste, General Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in America, discusses the contentions of the Bevan Group.

To the suggestion that the gods would be with Melos since its cause was just, the Athenians replied: "As touching the gods we have the belief . . . that always, by a necessity of nature, each one commands wherever he has the power. We did not establish this law, we are not the first to apply it . . . we abide by it as something likely to endure forever. . . . We know quite well that you also, like all the others, once you reached the same degree of power, would act in the same way."

This is the sad hour for Britons, and especially for their leaders, to remember that the "iron law" of power is not suspended on behalf of those who are not as strong any more as they once were.

It is essential, I think, to bear in mind that in so far as the contest of power has become a mechanical or "natural" phenomenon, this applies in the same way to all the contestants and especially to each of the leading gamblers. They are equally out to win; otherwise they would not be sitting in on this kind of game.

There is point, therefore, in the speeches and writings of those who point to the dizzy pace of American armament and to the self-righteousness, provocativeness, belligerency, hysteria, of American policy and American leaders. There is point and a certain justification, provided they do not succumb to the temptation to rationalise and idealise Soviet or Kremlin policy, utterances, and behaviour. This is what I think some Britons tend now to do.

To look at the problem for a moment from another angle, it is the contention of Bevan and his followers that Britain should move forward on the road to radical social change rather than retreat. Without intending or pretending now to pass judgment on the specific issues in this field which are before the British workers, the unions, and the Labour Party, I am in agreement with this general orientation.

A risk that must be taken

But it is hardly possible for a nation to go through a radical social change, involving a basic shift in the power relationships within the nation, without at least temporarily diminishing its ability, in terms both of material resources and psychological disposition, to wage war, whether cold or hot.

When a capitalist society is threatened with a grave crisis, its leaders "resolve" the crisis by engaging in war production. The attention of the masses is diverted from the internal problem to the foe across the border, and progressive, labour, and Socialist leaders are persuaded not to "rock the boat during the storm."

Is it not clear, when we look at the problem from this angle also, that the risk of military weakening must be taken or the hope of anything in the nature of a democratic and socialist society must be abandoned?

Do we need more evidence than that provided by the history of four decades, including two World Wars, and by the contemporary scene, to convince us that unless this hard condition is accepted the alternative for labour and social democratic forces is eventually to be crushed between the millstones of Stalinism or some form of "National Socialism" and for western civilisation to be consumed or utterly debased by militarism, totalitarianism, and war?

There remains the possibility that the Bevanites will give leadership to a movement which accepts the fact that preparation for modern war and provision for popular welfare cannot go hand in hand, and which is, therefore, prepared to abandon the armaments race and to pursue a programme aimed to secure the welfare of the British, the colonial, and other peoples. Such a programme must necessarily be one of peace.

I understand there are already in England persons, whose integrity and competence cannot be questioned who hold that even from a military point of view this is the better, perhaps even the only rational course for Britain to take, since a Britain which serves as an American base and whose troops are in effect American mercenaries is almost certain to be destroyed in an atomic war.

There will not be lacking people who would cry that it was craven and cowardly thus to "refuse to fight." But for most people it will not be necessary to prove once more whether the British have the courage to fight. What needs now to be demonstrated is that they and other peoples have the courage to risk sanity.

As we suggested earlier, mere temporary reduction in the pace of British rearmament accompanied with somewhat less of an American and more of a Russian orientation, will just be playing into Russian hands.

If Britain strives to retain her place in the power race, she will eventually be driven to stand unequivocally with Russia or the United States. Either way would mean war.

But realists in Britain must know that when it comes to the final show-down, Britain will be on the American side. If Bevan strives to avoid this—to keep Britain indefinitely balancing between Russia and the United States or to give its policy a Russian orientation—it seems certain that he will encounter deep currents of interest and feeling which will prove irrestible, and eventually "Churchillism" will prevail decisively.

A genuine "Third Force" is needed now. But to be the nucleus of a "Third Force," Britain must refuse to bow to the conditions of the power struggle; she must leave her seat among the gamblers at Mars' gaming table, not proceed on the asumption that she can be a luckier or cleverer gambler.

U.S. cannot enforce rearmament

What would be the reaction in the United States to a Britain which took such a course?

Almost certainly the great majority of Americans would hate you at first. It is even likely that many of the bitterest denunciations would come from our pro armament, anti-Russian "liberals." But it would not be possible for the United States Government to **force** rearmament on you.

Under the circumstances, it is not likely that Western European countries could be induced to go on with the rearmament programme, nor could rearmament be imposed upon them by main force either.

I do not think one can be at all certain as to what the reaction in this country might then be. It would be a terrific shock for us to discover that we could not rearm Britain and Western Europe.

It is probable that the breaking out of peace would be as embarrassing to the men in the Pentagon, White House, and State Department as to the men in the Kremlin. But to them also, and to the American people, as to the men in the Kremlin and the Russian people, it might be a saving shock.

Deep down Americans also hate war, and they do not really want to shoulder the vast burden of destroying or trying to run the world.

It may be that no people are in a better positon than the British at this very moment to remind us that even a white, Anglo-Saxon, "Christian" nation cannot succeed where Tyre and Nineveh failed.

Remember!

MONEY SPENT

ON

GUNS AND BOMBERS

CANNOT BE SPENT AGAIN

ON

HOUSES AND SCHOOLS

Copies of this latest Quaker peace poster may be obtained, 4½d. post free, from the Northern Friends Peace Board, Friends Meeting House, Clifford Street, York.

We did not say it . . .

When Admiral Lord ("Jacky") Fisher was invited to attend a conference at The Hague, his comment was something like this: "When one is asked to talk of 'humanising war,' one might just as well talk of 'heavenly hell.'"—*Sydney C P Twomey in a letter to Daily Telegraph, Dec. 28, 1951.*

* * *

There is no longer any moral justification for *passive* neutrality. The logical conclusion of this form in today's interdependent world is national stagnation and death. But active, conciliating neutrality is quite a different thing . . . If you want peace, you have to have peacemakers. —*William Bross Lloyd Jr. in The Socialist Call, New York, Dec. 7, 1951.*

THE FIRSTBORN

THERE is a double interest for pacifists in the fact that the English Arts Theatre Committee have opened their new venture at the Winter Garden Theatre with Christopher Fry's "The Firstborn": the author's name and the play itself.

As the title more or less indicates, "The Firstborn" deals with the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt. But the events are not presented on the vast historical canvas which first comes to mind in recollection of the Bible story. They are played out against the background of human relationships and individual reactions within the Pharaoh's and Moses' own family circles, and that of the personal struggle between the two main protagonists themselves.

Christopher Fry's Pharaoh Seti is not a monster in human shape. He is a tyrant, but an impersonal one, acting upon conviction and according to his best lights. He is human. And Moses is not superhuman. He is so fallible that his victory in the struggle against Seti enmeshes him in the Pharaoh's tragedy and leaves him without joy in his achievement.

This is one of Christopher Fry's earlier plays, revised for this production, and as a play it has not the verbal brilliance of his later work.

This is not to say, however, that it does not carry its message clearly and authoritatively: Coercion contains the seed of self-punishment. The seven plagues inflicted on the Egyptians had the authority of the tribal god believed in by the Israelites—they were even his will—and Moses never doubted their justness. As a long-distance precursor of economic and bacteriological warfare, he played his part with inspired fervour, without self-questioning.

Only when the death of firstborn Egyptian humans as well as of animals strikes at his own love for Ramases—the future Pharaoh under whom the Israelites might have been freely delivered from bondage—does he see that human brotherhood extends beyond the tribe. And by that time happiness has become a thing of the past.

It is a play to be seen and pondered by pacifists and non-pacifists alike.

R.S.

Have you seen it?
— the NEW

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Dear Sir

A new way

I WAS much heartened by S. J. Hayward's letter on the above subject, particularly because of its sincere desire to get at the hard realities of peace pioneering.

Much splendid work is now being done in this field, but those responsible for it feel too keenly the inadequacy of their contribution compared with the need, and their own aims, to talk or write about it to other than their close friends.

It will not always be so. We must be patient. Many are being influenced by their witness. Moreover, while in the past many made adventures without due thought, and thus without being quite sure of themselves, there are very different stories to tell now.

It cannot be too strongly emphasised that "the new way of life in persons" is a living peace propaganda which reinforces every other kind of propaganda, including the spoken and the written word. It is living in accordance with the values and the economy which belong to peace, and involves the drawing of many lines which cut across conventions. It means that satisfying many needs with one's own hands is a happier way of life than merely buying everything with cash earned in a corrupted social and economic system.

"The new way of life" is the only way that is capable of delivering civilisation from the tensions, the irreconcilable living standards and the wars which now threaten its doom.

WILFRED WELLOCK

Orchard Lea,
New Longton, Preston.

(In the current issue of the PPU Journal Wilfred Wellock has a challenging article on this subject—"The Next Steps to Peace" —Editor, PN).

Operation Gandhi

DOES R. M. Clarke know personally those who took part in "Operation Gandhi"?

Some, if not all, are engaged in full-time pacifist work—and where paid not over paid!

Let's not under-estimate the work the few do on behalf of the many—nor criticise—too soon. Wait and see the results from this small beginning, which deserves support.

FRANCES E. MORGAN

Columbine Cottage,
Uckfield, Sussex.

I DO not see that the action of those who took part in Operation Gandhi need be worthless even though they paid the fines imposed. They rendered unto Ceasar that which was Caesar's while demonstrating that they held on to that which is God's.

There are those who rate money higher than personal freedom and any of these might be made to stop and think and be brought a step nearer to understanding the ways of Peace.

In any case, I am sure the squatters would not claim that their action was comparable with what Gandhi did, either in depth or extent, but that it was only an experiment from which they may learn and be strengthened for the future. It was more than I would care to do anyway, and I admire them.

DICK WOOD

12 Barnetts Road,
Leigh, Tonbridge.

There was "an error" over N. London Peace Centre

IN connection with the application of the North London Peace Centre for the use of the Hornsey Town Hall, which was rejected after it had been stated that the centre had been the subject of police enquiry, and that 75 per cent. of its members were Communists, the matter has been taken up with the Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police and the Mayor of Hornsey.

We understand that the suggestion that 75 per cent. of the members of the Centre were Communists was made in error, due to a confusion of the Centre with another organisation.

The error has been explained to the Town Clerk, and it is probable that a further application for the Town Hall will be made.

Up and doing

"ALMOST A MIRACLE"

A copy of Peace News in the Edinburgh Public Library has come to my notice.

It is, to me, almost a miracle to find a group of people able to see for themselves a clear method of obtaining peace, other than the mad arms race which is going on . . . I shall be glad to receive PN regularly, and enclose £1.

"P.I." Edinburgh

COULD this have happened in YOUR local library? Enquire whether the paper is in your local Reading Room. If it is only available on request do all you can to keep the assistant busy in handing it out; a brisk demand may gain it a place on the reading table.

If PN is not there at all you should write to the Librarian asking him to provide it. If possible, back your application with signatures of local rate-payers (the more the better), or arrange for a number to write separately. At the same time find out who is on the Library Committee and try personal approaches to more progressive members. An offer to supply PN free of charge will often influence a favourable decision.

Make it an issue of democratic principle—PN is the ONLY weekly newspaper representing a widely held minority opinion, its omission would amount to a suppression of the free exchange of opinion of which this country is proud.

The attempt is well worth making—and we shall be glad to help you. H.F.M.

Circulation last week, 12,300 copies

FACTS AND FIGURES

(from page three)

per cent.) absorb one-quarter of the national product, so that the economy is unbalanced.

The deterioration of the terms of trade is alarming. The quantity of imports rose slightly, but prices increased by 50 per cent. and the value from £2,608 million (cif) in 1950 to £3,914 million in 1951. Exports rose only from £2,171 million (fob) to £2,580 million (19 per cent.).

As exports cannot be increased substantially due to arms production, the chief remedy is to cut food imports and to restrict domestic consumption.

The "$ gap" of the "sterling area" cannot be bridged while the arms race continues (See PN, Dec. 21, 1951). If dollar reserves run low, the £-area will disintegrate, because "customers will close the account" as Lord Balfour said. Without "Lend-Lease" or, alternatively, a drastic reduction of the arms programme, the payment crisis will remain permanently.

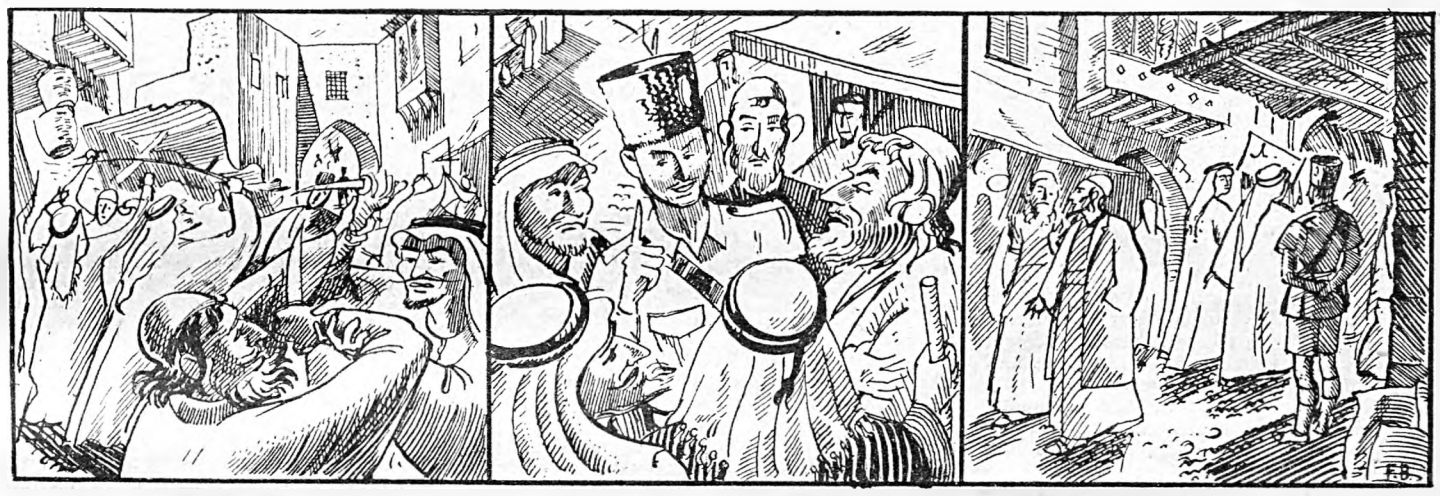
In four weeks Mr. Butler will present his "Budget of cuts and restrictions." What will the Labour Party do? The alternative is either to follow Mr. Gaitskell's way leading to war-time restrictions, decline in consumption, wage-control and direction of labour, or to return to the economy of a balanced "welfare state" by cutting arms expenditure.

The path of war-economy leads to bankruptcy.

F.R.

VICTORIES WITHOUT VIOLENCE

Psalms instead of pistols



In a street in Jerusalem a group of Arabs and Jews are fighting when the voice of a policeman is heard above the tumult quoting a psalm.

"No quarrel resulting from a conflict of opinions is ever decided by violence," he reminds them, and the angry surprise in his voice suggests that this is something they must have forgotten.

As other policemen threaten with fines, this appeal to reason surprises them and they soon quieten and depart peacefully.

Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, **TOWN**, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Friday, February 8

BOURNEMOUTH: 7.30 p.m. East Cliff Cong. Ch; Margaret Backhouse, "Quaker Mission to Moscow"; PPU.

WADEBRIDGE: 7.30 p.m. Trinity Meth Ch. Guild Room, Eglohayle Rd; Rev. Clifford Macquire, "Peace or War, Anglo-American Responsibility"; FoR.

Saturday, February 9

NORTHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho; A. E. Felce (member of the NUR team who recently visited Russia); "Russia Today, My Impressions of the USSR"; Chair: E. G. Walden; PPU.

SHEFFIELD 1: 4.30 pooled tea; 6 p.m. AGM at Friends College, Hartshead; PPU.

TRURO: 3 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho, Truro Vean; The Rev. Clifford Macquire, "Peace or War, Anglo-American Responsibility"; FoR.

WARRINGTON: 3 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho, Buttermarket St; N-W Area AGM; PPU.

Sunday, February 10

BOURNEMOUTH: 6.15 p.m. Friends Mtg H., Avenue Rd; Margaret Backhouse, "Quaker Mission to Moscow"; PPU.

SYDENHAM: 6.30 p.m. Dr. Mildred Creek, "The Quaker Mission to Moscow"; SoF.

Monday, February 11

SALISBURY: 7.15 p.m. Guildhall. Margaret Backhouse, "The Quaker Mission to Moscow"; Chair: His Worship the Mayor (Cllr. S. E. Chalk); Public Mtg; FoR, SoF.

Tuesday, February 12

RICHMOND: 8 p.m. Vernon Hall, Vernon Rd; Kathleen Rawlins, "Non-violence, Operation Gandhi"; PPU.

LEWISHAM: 7.45 p.m. 25 Pearfield Rd, Forest Hill (nr Fire Stn); Business Mtg and discussion on "East-West Conflict"; PPU.

ILFORD: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho, Albert and Cleveland Rds; "East-West Relations"; SoF.

Wednesday, February 13

BRISTOL: 7 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho, Broadweir; Business Mtg; PPU.

Thursday, February 14

BRIGHTON: 7.30 p.m. Royal Pavilion (large conf room); The Duke of Bedford and Sybil Morrison, "Britain's Vital Need"; Admission 6d.; PPU.

EASTBOURNE: 7.30 p.m. South Eastern Gas Board's Demonstration Theatre; Reginald Reynolds; "Quakers and War, a Positive Way to Peace"; Friends Peace Committee.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open-air Mtg; Robert Horniman; PPU.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho, Bush Rd; Margaret Tilford; PPU

SHAFTESBURY: 7.30 p.m. Town Hall; Hugh Faulkner, "The Christian Alternative to War"; Public mtg; FoR.

Friday, February 15

PARKSTONE: 7.15 p.m. 15 Danecourt Rd; Hugh Faulkner; FoR.

Saturday, February 16

LEEDS: 3 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho, Woodhouse Lane; Yorkshire Area, AGM; Pooled tea; PPU.

STOCKTON-ON-TEES: 7 p.m. Brunswick Meth Ch, Dovecot St; John Ferguson, MA, BD, "The Christian Alternative to War"; Chair: the Rev. Norman Tetlaw; Public mtg; FoR.

Saturday, Feb. 16-Sunday, Feb. 17

LONG EATON: Speaker: the Rev. Hampden Horne; Details from Hilda Bowman-Beer, 60 Curzon St; FoR.

Sunday, February 17

NOTTINGHAM: 7 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho, Friars Lane; Robert S. W. Pollard, "The Politics of Peace"; SoF.

Monday, February 18

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho, Mount St; "Christianity and Pacifism"; Open debate; PPU.

BERMONDSEY: 7.30 p.m. Libraries Hall, Spa Rd. (Two minutes from New Baths, Grange Rd, Buses 1 and 78); Fenner Brockway, MP, Emrys Hughes, MP and Sybil Morrison; "Why Rearmament?"; Chair: The Rector of Bermondsey; Apply Mrs. Howes, 50 Storks Rd, S.E.16.

Tuesday, February 19

ST. ALBANS: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho, Upper Lattimore Rd; Branch AGM; FoR.

Wednesday, February 20

CAMBRIDGE: 8.15 p.m. The Union; Alex Wood Memorial Lecture; Dr. C. E. Raven, "Alex Wood, the Man and his Message"; FoR.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. Friends Int Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq; "Is an Inter-racial Society Possible?"; Colin Legum and Nathaniel Siganga; SoF.

Thursday, February 21

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho, Bush Rd; Egan Puddy, "The Myth of the Superman"; PPU.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open-air Mtg; Robert Horniman; PPU.

Friday, February 22

BIRMINGHAM: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho, Bull St; Gerald Bailey, organiser of the Friends Mission to Russia, "Peace with Russia"; Chair: Kenneth H. Southall; SoF.

WELLINGBOROUGH: 7.30 p.m. Almax St Ch; Rev. Prof. C. E. Raven DD, "The Prospects for Peace"; FoR.

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MEETINGS

NO CONSCRIPTION Council. Victor Yates, MP, and Rev. Claude Coltman, MA, will speak at Annual Public Mtg, Kings Weigh House, Duke St, W.1. Fri. Feb. 15, 7.30 p.m.

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath. Every Tuesday. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

"THE BBC versus Democracy." Public meeting, Thurs., Feb. 14, 7 p.m. at Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq, W.C.1, organised by National Secular Society. F. A. Ridley (Editor, The Freethinker), Mrs. Janet Chance, L. Ebury, Victor Morris, E. W. Shaw will speak. Questions and discussion. Admission free.

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PERSONAL

GERMAN FAMILIES in Hamburg, Ludwigshafen, Selb (Fichtelgebirge) Wiesbaden, want exchange of children 14-15 years old, July August, 1952. Write Peacebuilders, Claude Weiss, Hamburg Volksdorf, Auf dem Pfahlt 4.

LONDON TELEPHONE and letter accommodation address available. Box 380.

LITERATURE, &c.

HOUSMANS BOOKSHOP gives prompt postal service for all your book requirements. Entire profits go to Peace News. Enquiries welcome, please send s.a.e. for latest list. Housmans Bookshop (Peace News Ltd), 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. Tel. STA 2262.

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MISCELLANEOUS

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EMRYS HUGHES M.P.

If you oppose cuts you must oppose rearmament

NEW SCHOOLS — OR ARMS?

PUBLIC opinion in Britain is rapidly changing. The Churchill Government has been in office only three months but the Gallup Poll already shows a considerable fall in its popularity and a corresponding swing over to the Labour Party.

Millions of people who are not greatly interested in politics voted to give Mr. Churchill another chance: they accepted his story that the country had been led to the verge of bankruptcy by the Socialists and that Socialism was the cause of our troubles.

They do not need to know much about politics to realise now that they have been swindled and duped. They do not need to go to political meetings to discover this: they find it out every time they go to the butchers' and the grocers' shops.

Labour's dilemma

It is Churchill and Butler and the Tories who have to face the problems and answer the questions now.

It is they who will have to find the money for the huge rearmament programme which they supported so wholeheartedly when it was introduced by the Labour government.

And now Labour is in opposition, the rank and file and the general public want it to put up the strongest possible fight in Parliament against the Tory cuts.

This puts the leaders of the Labour Party in a difficult position. They have now either to abandon their own rearmament programme or find themselves out of touch with rising public opinion.

They are expected to oppose the charges for the Health service. It is not a year since Aneurin Bevan refused to agree to the charges for spectacles and false teeth, and left the Cabinet. Now the Tories are carrying these economies to their logical conclusion.

Death by a thousand cuts

I said at the time that the main criticism of the Gaitskell economies was that he had opened the door to the wolves.

The wolves are now on the Treasury Bench and Gaitskell denounces them because they are not behaving like little Red Riding Hood.

But this is only the beginning. Mr. Butler promises torture and death by the Chinese method of a thousand cuts.

How would Labour have faced this crisis if it had been returned to power?

Would it have faced up to the plain fact that if armaments are not cut then our social services and standard of life must suffer and would it have decided that Britain can simply not find the huge sums for rearmament and keep the Welfare State at the same time?

The Welfare State or the Warfare State? You cannot have both at the same time. And now the Labour Party in opposition must make up its mind which it wants.

Unless the Labour Party reconsiders its policy on re-armament it will be in a difficult position when Churchill asks how it would face the financial crisis.

For the rearmament programme depends upon transferring labour from the production of consumption goods to the production of guns, bombers and tanks. This means shortages.

If you are in favour of rearmament having priority for steel and the supply of steel is limited, what right have you to object if school buildings are held up for lack of the steel which is needed for the arms factory?

You cannot have the new schools that are required and the arms programme at the same time. I ask those who are indignant about the proposed cuts on education which is their choice. If they say the schools must not be sacrificed then they must be prepared to cut the arms programme.

The supporters of rearmament who want to oppose the Tories will be faced with this dilemma over and over again as the Churchill government proceeds with its economy measures.

Rank and file must act now

When the ordinary man realises what the cuts in the Health Services mean, how new payments are to be extracted in all sorts of ways he will realise how he has been swindled.

Rearmament has not really got going yet. It will mean less food, less clothes, less houses, and less of everything in the shops.

I do not argue that rearmament is the sole cause of the financial crisis, but it is the major cause, and if the Labour Party is going to be honest with the electors it has to tell them this.

That is why I believe the Labour Party will be forced to reconsider its policy on rearmament. Opinion and feeling is changing very quickly at Westminster. The rank and file in the country can help to stiffen up their MPs. Opposition to cuts is meaningless unless it is followed up by a demand for a reduction in arms expenditure and a new foreign policy.

SYBIL MORRISON

REHEARSAL FOR WORLD WAR III

Two armies have been intermittently engaged in warfare in Korea since 1950 . . . if those armies have failed to destroy each other they have not failed to destroy the country over which they fought . . . all major towns have suffered the most terrible destruction . . .

In the 1939-45 war civilians became equal targets with soldiers. Today civilians have become the main target . . .

It appeared . . . that this dreadful means of indiscriminate destruction (atom bomb) was about to be employed. I have no doubt that in terms of victory it would have been in vain. In terms of liberation it would have been monstrous. In terms of civilisation it would have destroyed the meaning of culture and rendered obsolete all prior meanings of the word evil.

I am not a pacifist: in war I have seen thousands of men at their best, and have been perhaps at my best myself . . . if we wish to defend ourselves we could do so . . . Defence would depend upon resolution and determination to resist—even if it were only with knives. And do not let us be squeamish about knives . . .

—Reginald Thompson (Korean War Correspondent, Daily Telegraph 1950-1951), New Statesman and Nation, Feb. 2, 1952

THE article in last week's New Statesman with its ominous title, "Korean Rehearsal" so reminiscent of the Spanish Civil War rehearsal for the second world war, is a coolly reasoned and terrifying indictment of war, and yet the author concludes with a hasty and kind of apologetic protest that he is no pacifist.

After reading his description of the hundreds of villages "erased from the face of the earth," of the complete disappearance of the Koreans' "slow and painful efforts at industrialisation," of the roads and railways irrevocably damaged, and the "countless people caught in this dreadful exercise reduced to ashes with their homes or condemned to wander hopelessly in a barren wilderness" with no understanding of the reason for their suffering; after seeing through his eyes the piteous picture of the "shocking destruction of Seoul" and appreciating his final conclusion that "In both world wars the winners did not win," it would seem that if he is not a pacifist he ought to be.

He seems to be worried in case his fine courageous men, who are not squeamish about pressing buttons which release high explosives, napalm and devouring flames, should shudder away from knives, though bayonets, which are, after all, very nice sharp knives, are still considered an essential part of a soldier's equipment.

It is extremely significant that a non-pacifist should want to go back to the days when civilians were not involved as the targets in wars, for it shows that the inacceptable truth about war was much easier to evade in those times.

The truth is that a soldier and a civilian are not in essentials different at all, for they are both human beings; the soldier is dressed up in uniform and taught not to think but to obey orders: not to "die for his country," as is romantically supposed, but to kill in order that he should live to kill again. That is war.

The fact that thousands of men show fine and courageous qualities when obeying their orders in war, is totally irrelevant as an argument against pacifism. The adventures of peace as typified by such well-known names as William Penn, Scott, Lindbergh, Nansen, Mallory, Elizabeth Fry, the Tolpuddle Martyrs and Carlsen, have called out as much courage, selflessness, fortitude and endurance as any trained soldier, sailor or airman.

There are countless men and women, who, in their daily lives and work, show a controlled courage, not in desperate self-defence, but in the service of the community. There are the men who launch lifeboats in the teeth of ferocious gales; there are the firemen who climb ladders to the dizzy heights of blazing buildings; there are the miners who force their way through fumes and deadly gases to rescue their fellows, and in factories and hospitals, civil air lines and Merchant Service there are men and women who adventure and risk their lives daily for the well-being and the safety of their fellow human beings.

And there are some who will suffer rather than wound, and die rather than kill. This too needs courage, endurance and faith to a very high degree; and the vital and fundamental difference is that it is for good, not for evil—for peace, not for war.

Malaya: where angels fear to tread

THE Taking Stock broadcast of the BBC on Jan. 31 under the chairmanship of Sir Frederick Whyte, in which Mr. Victor Purcell, Cambridge University Lecturer in Far Eastern History, Mr. H. C. Green, recently returned from Malaya where he had been Head of the Emergency Information Services on the staff of Sir Harold Briggs, and Mr. R. G. D. Houghton, until recently Commissioner of Labour in Malaya, discussed the present situation in the Empire's star dollar-earning country, cannot have left many of those who heard it with a feeling of much confidence in an early solution of the Malayan trouble.

Yet it cannot be said of any of these men that they are pacifist "cranks" or fellow travellers with Communism. But it can be said of them that they think.

Guerillas gain recruits

The official attitude and that of most newspapers continues, however, to minimise the seriousness of the situation by dubbing the jungle fighters mere "bandits"—which is hypocritical as well as purblind; and there is also a tendency towards a positively ridiculous kind of optimism, which sees encouragement in the fact that a greater number of "Communist terrorists were killed, and a greater number surrendered" in 1951 than in 1950.

But it is no cure for a country's grievous conditions to kill off a few more hundred of its extremists year by year, while pursuing a policy and line of action which at the same time ensures a steady flow of new recruits to the army of extremists.

There is no evidence whatever that the total strength of Malayan guerilla fighters is materially on the decrease.

The truth is that there is no chance whatever of bringing Malaya back to normal conditions without a prior radical readjustment of British policy *not* in the direction indicated by the latest developments.

If the early results of Mr. Oliver Lyttelton's visit to the Far East have in no way surprised pacifists, they have not come up to the expectations of British residents in Malaya either. On Jan. 26, The Observer's Singapore Correspondent, Michael Davidson, cabled that "statements the Colonial Secretary is reported to have made in London have upset Malayan confidence in Britain's intentions and brought perplexity even to British minds."

These statements, paraphrased and summarised, amount to an apparent intention not to give immediate consideration to the setting up of machinery for accelerating association of the people with the Administration; and not to hold elections "until safety is assured."

Unless Mr. Lyttelton has been misreported, this will turn out the crowning piece of a lot of follies committed in the past. For there is hardly a thing among all the things that are wrong at present in Malaya that is not directly due to British action—and to place another act of mere expediency on top of the large accumulation of past wrongs will be certain to kill the last hope of ever finding Malaya in voluntary association with the non-Communist world.

Just call them bandits

The facts speak for themselves. The Malayans, like their brothers the Indonesians, are charming children of Nature. Blessed with a wealth of natural resources and a wonderfully fertile soil, they are not go-getters. Left to themselves, they would certainly not have developed tin, tea and rubber estates to the earning capacity of their recent past—the less so since their share of the profits has been that which colonial enterprise considers right and proper for "natives."

The consequences of the Malayans' easy-going ways was the introduction of Indians for labour and the encouragement of Chinese immigration. The Indians work harder than the Malayans, and the Chinese are far more enterprising and clever. Today, there are about one hundred thousand more Chinese in the country than Malayans, and nearly one quarter as many Indians.

Whether conceived in a belated effort to do justice to the Malayans' primary rights or, possibly, for less elevated reasons, the federal constitution introduced after the war favoured the Malayans unduly, and turned the Chinese majority into second-class citizens. Now, no one quite knows whether the jungle-guerillas—logical successors of the internal resistance fighters against the Japanese—are pro- or anti-Chinese, pro-Moscow, pro-Peking or just plainly anti-British, anti-White and anti-Capitalist. So it is trouble- and thought-saving just to call them bandits.

They may be that, but they are also nationalists and fighters for liberation. Nearby neighbours have gained their independence, and the elementary grievance of a living standard far below the country's earnings on the world market remains unabated.

The situation in the Empire's and Commonwealth's greatest dollar earner remains what it has been for over six years—one in which angels would fear to decide upon the next step forward. Are Mr. Lyttelton and General Templer, the former City Magnate and the professional soldier, the right people to take that decision?

ROY SHERWOOD

PASTOR DAWE TO APPEAL

PASTOR ERNEST DAWE, one of the leaflet distributors arrested on the occasion of the Operation Gandhi demonstration in Whitehall on Jan. 11, was fined 20s. on each of two charges of obstruction at the adjourned hearing of his case on Tuesday.

He is to appeal.

HAVE WE LOST OUR INDEPENDENCE? FROM PAGE 1

"What has become of our independence if we break down on a point on which we think our allies are wrong and our opponents are right?"

The rearmament programme, said Mr. Silverman, had been embarked upon against our better judgment, because the Americans demanded it, and refused to supply us with any raw materials for anything unless we accepted these demands.

We are less subservient—Tory MP

Viscount Hinchingbrooke, MP (Con.) who opposed the motion, disagreed that the presence of the American bomber bases need necessarily involve us in war.

Mr. Churchill had said that we had an absolute definite right to be consulted before the bases were used, and behind that there was no doubt a carefully worked out agreement with the Chiefs of Staff in the U.S. and the diplomatic officers in both countries as to what precisely was the situation should Britain not be at war and the U.S. at war.

"If such an agreement becomes known in the Soviet Union we are not likely to attract the weight of her one or two atomic bombs," he said.

Viscount Hinchingbrooke agreed that there had been a tendency towards subservience to America under the late Socialist government, but he thought there was no sign of it in the behaviour of the new government.

Later in the debate, Viscount Hinchingbrooke said, "One reason why I am so delighted to uphold the independence of the UK is that we shall need that independence in order to begin to act as a counter-pressure against the USA in her full development of military production.

"All power corrupts, and if they have atomic power, corruption may go very far.

"There is a danger that in two or three years time, when America is fully prepared, she may become very aggressive.

"When 30 to 40 per cent. of the workers of the USA depend for their livelihood on military preparations, their thoughts are reflected in Congress and in Washington, and you may see created a rather dangerous diplomacy which may carry us into difficult paths.

"We may from now on have to act in a rather restraining way on the United States."

In answer to a question, both speakers agreed that we had been influenced by the United States in regard to the rearmament of Western Germany, and Viscount Hinchingbrooke said, "If I thought the Russians were going to war within three years I would rearm Germany, but as I don't I deplore the idea that the Germans should be rearmed so soon after the war, and before they have been fully absorbed into the Western way of life."

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